

PEACE NEWS

For War-Resistance and World-Community

No. 715

March 10, 1950

THREEPENCE

Food and Peace

SCIENTISTS GIVE ANOTHER FAMINE WARNING

"Our children are cured from diphtheria by a Japanese and a German, they are protected from smallpox by an Englishman's work, they are saved from rabies by a Frenchman and they are cured of pellagra through the researches of an Austrian. From birth to death they are surrounded by an invisible host—the spirits of men who never thought in terms of flags or boundary lines and who never served a lesser loyalty than the welfare of mankind."

DR. GOLDSMITH, UNESCO representative at the Conference on The World's Food and Britain's Need, organised by the Association of Scientific Workers at the St. Pancras Town Hall last week-end, used this quotation from Raymond Fosdick to emphasise that science is an international force making towards world peace and unity, not only or chiefly making hydrogen bombs.

Dr. Julian Huxley recited the now familiar figures about the growth of world population which greatly outstrips immediate and prospective food production, so that the world is left to find its own substitute for death in the rapid development of contraception.

P. Le Gros Clark emphasised that nothing could stop the medical revolution that was cutting death rates everywhere. Plenty was technically possible but socially impossible because of established habits. He put the probability of large-scale famines in the near future at a thousand to one.

Livestock farming means waste

Sir George Stapledon would have half England's cultivable land under grass for cattle, but in the final discussion speakers pointed out that Western peoples who were demanding drastic changes in the traditional ways, family life and economy of the peasant majority should themselves consider the enormous waste of precious nutrients involved in livestock farming.

Influenza prevented Lord Boyd Orr being seen except on the screen in Paul Rotha's admirably tendentious documentary, *The World is Rich*, but his paper, read to the Conference by the chairman, emphasised the new paradox of American surpluses in the midst of Asiatic starvation and the paramount need for a World Food Board with full power to act.

Another absentee was Ritchie Calder, still somewhere in the desert. Dr. Bunting, Scientific Adviser to the Overseas Food Corporation, provided instead an impressive array of African development and possibilities.

But where were the pacifists, to tell this important Conference, as Boyd Orr has previously done, that a complete and immediate switch of heavy industries from swords to ploughshares is essential if the world's human family is to be fed?

ROY WALKER

Britain's Foreign Policy should aim at World Government

THE newly-elected National Council of the Crusade for World Government, which held its first meeting in London last Sunday passed the following resolution as expressing its viewpoint towards the problem of the H-Bomb and world peace:

"In view of the statement of Prof. Einstein that the use of the H-Bomb might result in the extermination of all life on this earth, the National Council reaffirms its belief in World Federal Government as the essential means whereby impending mass destruction may be averted and by which the unlimited possibilities now opened by scientific discovery may be applied to raising the standard of life throughout the world and to the general welfare of the peoples of all nations.

"At this crucial moment of decision this Council calls upon all peoples throughout the world to combine in a united effort to convene a democratically-elected Peoples' World Assembly with the object of establishing World Federal Government at the earliest possible moment; and urges members of the newly-elected Parliament to bring pressure on H.M. Government with a view to British initiative in foreign affairs, having the establishment of World Federal Government as its primary aim."

A BIGGER P.N. ON APRIL 28

On April 28 Peace News will be enlarged to eight pages every week. Until that date we shall find it difficult to report the many peace meetings taking place throughout Britain. Reports of the meeting addressed by Kingsley Martin on "Should Britain be Neutral in the event of War," and of meetings at Nottingham and Islington will appear next week.

BRITAIN SHOULD GIVE WORLD MORAL LEAD

We must take appalling risks for peace

— BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM

DEFENCE estimates published this week show that Britain is spending a still increasing proportion of her much-needed resources on the means to destruction.

At the same time, there are hopeful signs of a growing resistance to this aimless drift to world anarchy and a demand for moral leadership.

The Bishop of Birmingham has given bold expression to this demand by urging that Britain should give a lead to the world by refusing to make H-bombs, whatever the risks of such refusal.

ADDRESSING the Bromsgrove Rotary Club last week, Dr. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, urged that it should be the role of Britain to set the world the example for which it is waiting.

Expressing his sorrow that Britain endorsed the policy of dropping atom bombs on Japanese cities, he said that in history it would remain a stain on our good name.

But, he added, "We could do much to erase that stain were we to refuse to

participate in the making of new and still more destructive explosives."

Take the risk of extermination

Referring to the future destructive possibilities of science as applied to weapons, he asked:

"What, then, should a nation do if it aspires to be a moral leader of world civilisation?"

"Obviously," he said, "it must seek to end war and be prepared to take appalling risks for that purpose. We must say that we will not make such weapons because it would be wrong to use them."

"For the sake of humanity we must be prepared to run the risk of being exterminated."

He did not believe that this risk would be as great as was commonly thought, for "such action would appeal to the best in other peoples and their leaders—and remember, there is much good in humanity. Because of that goodness we shall survive."

World is becoming united

Speaking of the danger of over-population, with its constant demand for more land and more food, as the root cause of war, Dr. Barnes said the moral influence of the leading peoples of the world was needed to create a stable international civilisation.

"The peoples of the world are now being welded into a single unified proletariat," he said. "This unity, if achieved, will make them slowly responsive to the spiritual ideals of the leading peoples. Let us in Britain give of our best to the building of a new world order."

Labour Exchange meeting drew big crowd

TWO hundred Arsenal football fans helped to swell the crowd outside the Holloway Labour Exchange last Saturday, when a four-hour anti-conscription poster parade and demonstration was held by the Islington Peace Group, as young conscripts registered under the National Service Act.

Attached to the speakers' stand was a copy of a poster displayed on hoardings in the borough throughout the preceding week. Published by the Friends' Peace Committee (Quakers), it informs young men of their right to register as conscientious objectors and offers advice and assistance in the necessary procedure.

The outdoor meeting was opened by Miss Sybil Morrison, campaign organiser of the Peace Pledge Union, other speakers being A. L. Bradshaw (a young student), R. Allen Jackson and W. Clayton, a Hyde Park orator who refuses to pay income tax while the Government continues to spend money on armaments.

Two thousand leaflets were distributed.

London students' anti-war vote

AT the University College Debating Society in London on Tuesday, Feb. 28, Sybil Morrison carried the motion that "this House renounces war and will never support nor take part in another," by one vote.

The voting was 16 to 15 with 4 abstentions.

She was seconded by Bernard Crick and Opposed by Mr. Douglas Hague (Lecturer in Economics), seconded by Mr. Jarlath Finney.

The main arguments against the motion, in a lively and often amusing debate, were that without war this and other democratic countries might be over-run by totalitarianism, and that in a choice of two evils war is a lesser evil than loss of freedom and slavery.

Moral issue won votes

In replying Sybil Morrison stressed the moral issue involved in accepting the theory that there can be only a choice of evils and no choice of good, and explained that though scaling down armaments might provoke attack, complete abandonment of them was revolutionary in that it had never been tried: she believed it to be the only way to get rid of the suspicions which were making negotiations with so-called "enemy" countries impossible.

Her closing speech obviously changed the minds of many waverers and in moving the adjournment one member declared that it was her final words which had made it impossible for him to vote against the motion as he had intended.

WAR RESISTER'S NOVEL PLEA

ONCE again a French military court—which can always acquit German Nazis of war crimes if they plead that they were only obeying superior orders—has sentenced a CO to the maximum penalty of two years' imprisonment.

The latest victim, who has committed the unpardonable crime of refusing to obey orders and salute his officers, is Charles Meyer, sentenced on Friday last.

Meyer is a Jehovah's Witness, and it was suggested on his behalf that, as an Ambassador of God on earth, he was entitled to diplomatic immunity.

This novel plea was, unfortunately, not accepted by the court. Perhaps the French Government has not yet given to the Kingdom of Heaven *de jure* recognition.

CYRIL HUGHES



DIOGENES BEVAN SOLVES THE HOUSING PROBLEM.



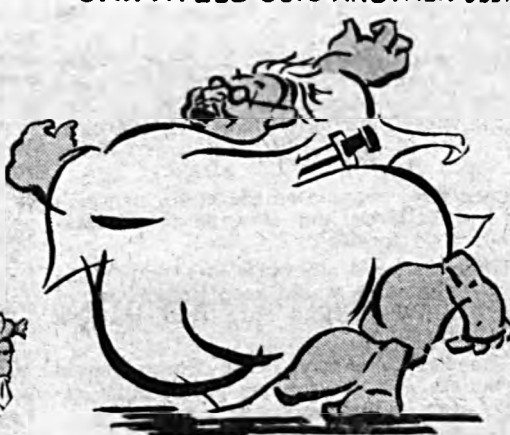
FROM ME-TO YOU — HANNIBAL SHINWELL GETS ANOTHER ELEPHANT



GEO WASHINGTON CRIPPS COULDN'T TELL-



MARK ANTHONY STRACHEY LEAVES CLEOPATRA GROUNDNUT FOR NEW BATTLEFIELDS



JULIUS CAESAR BEVIN STABBED IN THE BACK—AND IN THE FORUM.



WILLIAM TELL ATTLEE TRIES TO HIT THE APPLE EVERY TIME

MELL

"OUR PROBLEMS MUST BE SEEN IN THEIR HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE" — any statesman

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4
Stamford Hill 2262

Available from Newsagents and Bookstalls,
or direct from the above address.

POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Great Britain and abroad: Three months,
4s. 4d.; six months, 8s. 8d.; twelve
months 16s. 6d.

The Double Standard

TRIALS like the Fuchs case raise into prominence the peculiar moral implications which "national defence" involves.

Here is a man condemned to 14 years' imprisonment for doing something which in certain circumstances would be, by common consent, a patriotic duty.

For all we know, the British Government is at this moment paying out large sums of money for the encouragement, elsewhere, of the kind of treachery which a British Court of Justice has just condemned.

And now, after all the solemn legal procedure, the Judge's sermon, and the loud denunciations of the traitor by the Press and the public, we can still ask—Is the betrayal of Government secrets supposed to be wrong or not?

And further, if Fuchs had been employed by the Russian Government, and had betrayed a similar secret to the British Government, would the latter have handed him over to the Russians for justice, or would it have rewarded him?

What is unquestioned is, that treachery of this kind is regarded by this and all other armed nations as necessary and desirable, and that it is a sin which all governments try to persuade the subjects of other governments to commit.

For these reasons, all those condemnations of the kind of thing Fuchs has done sound a little insincere, because we know that his judges, professional and amateur, do not utterly repudiate it nor denounce it unconditionally.

It is the misfortune of those who believe in the necessity of military defence that they cannot regard moral laws as binding nor treat fundamental ethical principles as if they were absolute.

It must be very awkward at times. For unless a man has utterly renounced war, he must know there is hardly a sin, however repulsive, which he does not acknowledge that he might at some time or other have to condone, or encourage, or commit.

Treachery, lying, murder, the torture of children, the burning of human beings alive, the massacre of helpless cripples in their beds and every kind of atrocity mentionable and unmentionable—all these things are permitted, in certain circumstances, by judges, priests and all other moral authorities, and none can utterly repudiate them unless he has denied the need for armed forces.

For all these things have their appointed part in "national defence," and mock the efforts of the moralist as he preaches morality from the pulpit or seeks to impress the claims of "Decency" upon the rising generation.

We believe that an ever-growing number of people are finding this double standard of morality increasingly difficult to maintain. We wish them unpleasant dreams and every discomfort. For not until a sufficient number of people find this moral predicament intolerable and rid their consciences of the burden of a purely fictitious "military necessity," will society revolt against its enslavement by irrational fear and liberate itself from a paralysis which is holding up all spiritual and material progress.

Meanwhile, let us observe that no one who has not repudiated the necessity for any war whatsoever is in a position to condemn Dr. Fuchs.

THE Horder Committee on Nutrition of the British Medical Association has just published its report. The Daily Herald, (Mar. 3, 1950), dealing with it under the headline "Now Doctors Confirm You DO Eat Better," begins its review and summary of it with the words:

"British people are better fed now than they were before the war."

This is followed by a *Before and After* juxtaposition comparing pre-war and post-war conditions, of which the following are the main points:

"It is reasonable to assume that those sections of the population living in poverty were not getting enough to eat. In a relatively prosperous town like York 17.8 per cent. of the total population were in poverty in 1936... Certain features of the food control system must have had a powerful effect on the distribution of the available foods between the various sections of the population... *Before*, poverty fell with special severity on children. Thus, in York in 1936, 43 per cent. of children under 14 of working class families belonged to families existing in poverty. *After*, by June 1948, dinners were being provided for over two-and-a-half million children daily, or about 50 per cent. of the total children."

Minor points of criticism contained in the report follow, but the total effect is that the report amounts to a clearly factual testimonial for the benefits of rationing and controls.

On the same day, the Daily Mail also deals with the report. In this case, the headline is "Café Meals Save Your Health From Breakdown," and this is followed by:

"People would have real difficulty in getting enough to eat if they did not take meals in canteens and restaurants or eat large quantities of potatoes. Whereas 34 per cent. of Britain's food before the war comprised potatoes or grain, today it is 42 per cent."

The committee is reported to have concluded that our post-war diet is not adequate "in some instances" and "in a general sense" unsatisfactory. No mention is made of pre-war standards, but the scientists are quoted as saying: "The difficulties of entertaining friends has deprived many people of their main pleasures. Few can afford to entertain to anything but a limited extent in public restaurants."

Conflicting pictures

WE are fond of boasting about the honesty of our Press. It is true that there is no actual falsehood to be spotted

here; true too, that differences of opinion and approach to facts are legitimate.

But if two newspapers can paint so contradictory a picture of our internal situation on the basis of the same report, what is our chance of ever reading an unprejudiced account of facts and happenings in other countries? Let alone anything that might make a contradictory policy comprehensible—and legitimate. One of the first and the most feasible attempts at international understanding might be a world newspaper whose only **MUST** would be the inclusion of "leaders" representing the different national viewpoints on contentious subjects, in parallel columns.

Truman's deplorable refusal

IT is not easy to imagine anything more deplorable than President Truman's sweeping declaration that, as long as he remains President, he will not visit Moscow.

Apart from a number of other reasons, such a declaration is not commensurate with the true dignity of the most powerful man on earth. Greatness can afford to disregard the minor trappings of a tinpot potentate and of schoolboy self-assertion. The man possessed of ultimately decisive powers over hydrogen world destruction might well have taken the view that he could well afford the self-abasement of "going there" instead of insisting that the other side must come to see him. Even in his own country there have been responsible voices calling for an altogether new approach, on the man-to-man level, to the question of USA-Soviet relations.

Whether the Churchill call for such a meeting is interpreted as an election stunt or not—a subject on which I prefer to keep my opinion to myself—the fact that it was made shows in any case that one of the astutest of world politicians has realised the ordinary people's growing feeling that the United Nations Organisation is fast becoming as useless as the old League of Nations.

The electoral problem

THE inconclusive result of the general election has led to a good deal of speculation on the subject of our electoral law and, more particularly, our division of the electorate into constituencies of vastly differing sizes. Under proportional representation, it is pointed out, the distribution of seats would have been as follows: Labour 288, Conservatives etc. 271, Liberals 57, Others 8. Naturally enough, the Liberals are the people who are complaining most that the existing system is unfair.

In some ways, of course, it is. But there is one aspect of the matter which must not be allowed to go unexplained: If the Liberals were now in possession of these 57 seats, they would—with their total of 2,634,482 votes out of 28,728,943, something only just above nine per cent.—be the virtual masters of the country. Their mere

announcement on any occasion of their intention of walking into one or the other of the two Division Lobbies would make them the arbiters of all government legislation. In comparison with that, meaning final control in the hands of any minority holding the scales between government and opposition, even the shortcomings of our present system seem trifling.

No collaboration on foreign policy!

WRITING on the prospects of the new parliamentary session, the Economist suggests an informal understanding between the two front benches in these words:

"Possibly the chief concession that an arrangement would require of the Government would be that they should bring the Conservative leaders into constant consultation on foreign affairs and defence policy, the two subjects which are not, or should not be, at issue between the parties."

Every pacifist will hope fervently that nothing of the kind will take place. Foreign Affairs and Defence are just the two subjects least fitted, from our point of view, for a hearty collaboration between the existing parties.

Lord Grey was right

"**O**NE by one," said Lord Grey of Fallodon shortly before the outbreak of the 1914-18 war, "the lights of liberty are going out all over Europe." Now they are going out all over the world. La Prensa, for decades a shining example of liberal thought and South America's most influential newspaper, has just been suppressed by means of the confiscation of its newspaper stocks. In the United States, the witch-hunt for Communists is growing hotter, and with us it seems about ready to start.

The Quaker Peace Testimony

The Universal Peace that we set before us as our ideal is not a passive condition, in which the virile energies of mankind will atrophy from want of exercise; it is an active movement towards the oneness of all humanity and the realization of the Kingdom of God on earth; it involves participation in a campaign of the most strenuous character against organised forces of evil; and as such it offers unbounded scope for the consecrated zeal and courage of the most devoted followers of Christ.

—From "Our Testimony for Peace" issued by London Yearly Meeting, 1912.

The above is an extract from "The Quaker Peace Testimony," an anthology compiled by Jos. S. Rowntree and Helen Byles Ford and published by the Friends Peace Committee, 6d.

Pacifists and Political Action - Election afterthoughts

PARLIAMENTARY PEACE GROUP AN URGENT NEED

By Rev. Richard Lee, member of PPU National Council.

WHILE one agrees with your "Commentator" that the Labour Government, especially in India, has done some things for peace, its fundamental policy, if it has any, makes for war.

The Churchill-Bevin phase initiated at Fulton is over. The Bevin attitude to deal with Russia and the Hydrogen Bomb through existing machinery will lead nowhere.

In fact, the Bevin foreign policy, in face of the actual situation, is dead. It would be an act of decency to take the corpse and incinerate it.

There are in Parliament numbers of men with knowledge, convictions and ability to frame a policy which would save the world.

The root of the trouble is a false doctrine held equally by Truman, Bevin and Stalin. They are all acting on the ancient motto *Si vis pacem, para bellum*. Zangwill stigmatised it: "I know that motto, it was forged in hell."

Our peace group could, at least, pillory this hell-forged falsehood which is the basis of the Labour expenditure of £800 millions, of the wicked manufacture of the Hydrogen bomb and of the 25,000 Russian aeroplanes of which Mr. Churchill is afraid.

Lord Grey repudiated the motto in which he had believed and affirmed that armaments lead inevitably to war.

Hitler believed otherwise and thought his huge armaments would keep Britain out of war. Hitler's victors have swallowed his idiotic formula.

The Parliamentary Peace Group should formulate and press home persistently another way of seeking peace, e.g.,

(a) Scrap all atomic bombs,
(b) Find a secure method to prevent manufacture,

(c) Adopt the Boyd-Orr plan of stressing life-giving measures instead of devilish deadly measures of destruction.

Labour officialdom would discourage any

peace group using its grey matter. They would prefer the marionettes pulled by strings from Transport House. But there are millions in the country waiting for the lead which Lansbury, E. D. Morel, Lord Ponsonby and Lord Arnold would have given if they had been with us.

I appeal to the MPs who have saved their seats to save their souls and help to save the world from perishing.

WORK THROUGH LOCAL LABOUR PARTIES

By Ron Huzzard, Hon. Sec., Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

SOME correspondents in Peace News still maintain that the lesson that pacifists should draw from the election is the need for a Pacifist Political Party.

Surely the election revealed one thing very clearly, that it is only through the Labour Party that pacifists can hope to gain representation in the House of Commons. The electorate dealt severely with all independents and small parties.

This viewpoint, stressed before the election by the Labour Pacifist Fellowship and by Audrey Jupp in her pamphlet "Party or?" has been proved correct.

It is to the group of pacifists and near pacifists on the Labour back-benches in this Parliament, that all pacifists will look for action on issues of foreign policy, conscription, disarmament, etc.

At its big demonstration at Central Hall, Westminster on March 27, the PPU will have two pacifist MPs on its platform—both Labour members.

Peace News (March 3) reporting Rhys Davies' election campaign says "he preached peace at every meeting." There is no evidence that all Labour candidates who were pacifists had not the same freedom.

Some pacifists have argued that just as Keir Hardie had to form the ILP and win over the trade unionists from voting for the Liberals, so the PPU today should become a new party and take over from Labour. Political parties are based largely on economic classes in society and the election proved that the working class is still solid behind Labour and shows no signs of changing.

The moral is clear. If pacifists want political action and representation in both local

and national government they should become active in their local Labour Party, Trade Union and Co-operative Party branches immediately.

The lack of a positive policy in foreign affairs distinct from the Tories' is felt by many already in the Labour Party.

Let all politically minded pacifists come into the Labour Party and help us to change the Government's foreign policy along the lines we desire. The probability of another General Election within the next 12 months makes such action extremely urgent.

DEVALUATION

A READER of Peace News, in making a contribution recently, wrote "I am sending something extra to allow for the devaluation of the pound." That is one of the many instances which show how much kindly thought lies behind the gifts which are sent to Headquarters.

Any difference which devaluation is making to the purchasing power of individuals, does also increase our overhead charges, and mean that we require more money to meet all our expenses. But if the pound reflects our monetary relations with others, what about our deeper relationships and our responsibility for spreading reconciliation and goodwill—the revaluation in terms of essential qualities?

Vera Brittain has returned from India with many constructive suggestions for such positive work, and Peace News is keeping its readers informed about them. All such plans involve the expenditure of money.

We want to raise £250 for Headquarters Fund by the AGM on April 29 as a symbol of our gratitude to Vera Brittain for all she has done in the first year of her Chairmanship, as a welcome back, and as an encouragement to her to lead the PPU forward to new efforts in constructive peace making.

STUART MORRIS

Our aim for 1950: £600.
Amount received up to March 3:
£78 11s. 11d.
£81 11s. 11d. less £250 by April 29.

Please help us to raise at least £250 by April 29.
Donations to the fund should be sent to the marked "Headquarters Fund," to the Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

INDIAN COMMENTARY

In India the followers of Gandhi have fact, logic and reason on their side. **WILFRED WELLOCK** asks: "Will they triumph?"

BENEATH the surface of Indian politics a very active ferment is in process on the course that India should take at this critical juncture in her history. The issue is: should she adopt Western industrialism or the Gandhian economics.

On that issue Congress, which had been a solid phalanx of support for nearly every proposal which Gandhi brought forward, is deeply divided, and the division is causing a good deal of heart-burning among Congress members, all of whom regret the rift that is now dividing the ranks.

For a longer period than I had realised before I went to India, Gandhi had been devoting much time and thought to the problem of India's economic future, the nature of the economy she ought to pursue when she entered into her new freedom.

It was of course recognised that he was opposed to an economy on Western lines, an economy based on a highly centralised, highly specialised, mass production system. It was also known that he favoured an economy which had as its basis village self-sufficiency, and that only in the economic and spiritual strength of her 700,000 villages could India win the freedom that is Peace.

In the ten years between 1937 and 1947 when India achieved her political freedom, Gandhi developed his theory of non-violent social revolution for India.

Keystone of the revolution

The keystones of this social revolution were Basic Education (described in a series of PN articles by Barbara Hartland, July 2, 9, 16, 1945), the principle of co-operation, and trained workers in these techniques.

So far as one can gather, there was little or no opposition to this new theory of revolution on the part of Congress members. This does not mean that everybody agreed with Gandhi, or that any appreciable percentage of his followers gave much thought to his social and industrial ideas. It probably meant no more than that it was enough to labour together with the maximum of unity in the winning of freedom, and to leave the later struggles till events opened the stage for their entry.

At the same time it can be said that Gandhi's economic philosophy had the general support of Congress, with the exception of those actually engaged in mass production industry; and even these, with very few exceptions, preferred to keep silent out of respect for their leader.

When at last freedom came, the first question to be settled was whether Congress members should, or should not, go into politics. Opinion was divided. But even of those who decided to enter politics, by far the greater number supported Gandhian economics.

Factors that encourage industrialism

In the meantime two events have tended to swing opinion among the "politicals" toward Western industrialism. These events are the passing of Gandhi and the advance of Communism in the East, including India herself.

In regard to the former, the influence of Gandhi will rise and fall from time to time according to the faith of his followers, and I am able to say that I have been heartened far more by the devoutness of those who have stood by his social teaching, than I have been disheartened by those who have strayed from it.

In regard to Communism it is now generally accepted that the way to stop its spread is to raise the standard of living. But in fact there is only a modicum of truth in this contention, since in the United States which has the highest standard of living in the world, the fear of Communism is stronger than in any other country.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★
Vera Brittain says

"Finally, and most fundamentally, I should like to see British pacifists attempt to understand other peoples in terms of the teachings of the great world religions. . . ."

THE POCKET WORLD BIBLE 7s. 6d.

edited by ROBERT O. BALLOU, presents (in 580 pages) the fundamental teachings of the major world religions, compiled from authoritative translations.

THE UNITY OF BEING 8s. 6d.

by ESMÉ WYNNE TYSON, discusses the basic unity of all the great faiths, from a pacifist's point of view.

Order these books (postage 6d. each) and all your reading requirements, from

HOUSMANS BOOKSHOP LIMITED
(the pacifist booksellers)
3 Blackstock Road London N.4

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Communism is spreading in India, but where? Not in her villages where the standard of living is lowest, but in the big industrial cities where working class living standards are highest

It is in the areas where trade unionism is strongest and wages are highest that Communism is spreading in India. Communism has made only slight intrusions into her villages, despite their appalling poverty, and this only on the promise to the peasants of the ownership of their farms. Such ownership relates to a life of quality, to freedom and self-determination and not merely to income.

Then how will the industrialism of India starve off Communism? Industrialism may draw from the villages the poorest members, but it will not save them from Communism. The loss of contact with nature and with a variety of agricultural and craft activities will leave an aching void which a higher money income and a hard existence in mass-production factories and congested slums will not fill. It is precisely such conditions which act as the seed beds for Communism.

Factories will bring poverty

Moreover the multiplication of factories will not raise the standard of living in India's villages. Today millions in those villages cannot afford to buy mill-produced cotton cloth, which is now being exported at the rate of 800,000,000 yards a year.

Hence the industrialism of India would quickly result in the pouring of new exports on the world's markets, where they would aggravate the world's major economic problem, and hurl India into the vortex of Western politics at a time when the changes between the magnetic poles are increasing in intensity and frequency.

In this field, as in so many, Gandhi's instincts were sure. He had the deep conviction that it was quality of life, the spiritual value of creative, responsible living—that is, of vocationalism—and not merely money, which the modern world lacked, and thus what was needed in India was to protect the living standards of the peasants by a well-planned system of village and regional co-operation which would fix prices on an agreed principle of justice, and at the same time build up a new village economy of complete self-sufficiency in certain fields, and to a reasonable degree in the rest.

The foundations of this new order were to be found in a new culture, which Basic Education would inculcate, and on it a civilisation of high culture would be erected.

Among its final products would be whole persons, from the children in the schools to grand-parents, also highly integrated villages, being stable and unshakeable by virtue of the inward strength developed through creative, largely self-sufficient, living.

In India the followers of Gandhi have fact, logic, and reason on their side. Will they triumph? I have seen them at work and have witnessed their faith and their progress and have been greatly inspired. I hope soon to write about this experience.

DR. ALEX WOOD reviews the revised and printed version of the peace proposals put forward by American Quakers last year. The original document was summarised in a series of Peace News articles under the heading "The Quaker Peace Plan." Dr. Wood, Chairman of

At least Versailles was a Treaty

By Harold F. Bing, F.R.Hist.Soc., who has been invited to succeed the late Dr. F. W. Pick as Tutor in History and International relations at the Co-operative College, Loughborough. Harold Bing is one of the British members of The War Resisters' International Council

Peace Making in Perspective, by Dr. F. W. Pick. Pen-in-Hand, 10s. 6d.

LLOYD GEORGE, when presenting the Treaty of Versailles to a critical House of Commons in 1919, excused its defects on the ground of the haste in which it had been drafted in order to forestall the breakdown of European civilisation.

Have today's peace makers taken a hint to avoid excessive haste?

It is now nearly five years since the end of the war in Europe and no treaty with Germany—or Japan—is in sight.

Few people realise, I imagine, that treaties with the lesser enemy States have in fact been in operation for three years, and by now have already been broken in important points.

In the long succession of "peace" conferences which have been held since 1945—in Berlin, Moscow, London, and Paris, Washington and Belgrade, we have seen hardly anything that could be called peace making. Rather have there been unseemly quarrels and bitter mutual denunciations among the wartime allies. It is difficult to say at present whether we are at war or at peace—and indeed with whom we are at war and with whom at peace.

New light on Versailles

Despite the oft condemned "iniquities" of the Versailles Treaty, when we look back upon it now, it seems to have been an almost miraculous result of six months' work. What have we to show in comparison?

In this book Dr. Pick has attempted to elucidate in some 240 pages the course of negotiations between the Powers of the anti-Hitler coalition, (it seems an euphemism to call them "allies!") from Teheran in 1943 to Paris in 1949. If he has not wholly succeeded, he has made a contribution for which many students of contemporary affairs will be grateful.

The book is not a mere chronicle of the various conferences and their decisions. It is less than that, but it is also more. In so far as it is less, it is a disappointing book for the ordinary reader whose mind is not an encyclopaedia of international diplomacy and who cannot recall the decisions made at Yalta and at Potsdam. For the Author tends to comment on these decisions without specifically stating them. And which of us can put his hand straightaway to his book shelves and take down the appropriate White Paper to refresh his memory?

For the non-specialist it would have been a great help if the decisions had been set out simply, or alternatively if the texts of

the important documents had been given as appendices.

Nazis dismissed him.

Democratic political education must have been based upon the right and the possibility of every citizen to know and judge the facts for himself. Dr. Pick is a staunch upholder of democracy in the Western sense. He was dismissed for his outspoken anti-Nazi views soon after Hitler came to power, and was forced to seek refuge in this country. But he is so convinced that his interpretation of the situation is the right and only possible one, that he is inclined, perhaps unconsciously, to expect the reader to accept that interpretation without being given the full facts upon which it is based or having suggested to him an alternative explanation of the conduct which the writer condemns.

Quite frankly, a strong anti-Russian bias runs through the book. Probably, were he here to defend himself, Dr. Pick would object to the word "bias" (His death in October last at the age of 37 deprived us of one of our liveliest writers on international affairs).

But what is the effect on the reader of such a passage as the following? Quoting Truman's statement in Berlin, July 20, 1945. "There is not one piece of territory, or one thing of a monetary nature, that we want out of this war," he goes on "Great Britain said as much again and again. Russia, for a variety of reasons deviated from this fundamental principle of peace. In her expansion, and in the reason which made her travel so different a road, must be found the evil that bedevils the world and hinders the process of peace-making."

Marshall's thinly veiled threat

The breakdown of every conference, the failure to reach agreement on one issue after another, is charged to Russian insincerity or aggressive intention. Russia's large losses in the war in contrast to America's practical immunity and increased economic potential are insufficiently noticed, nor does Dr. Pick see, apparently, the threats which were bound to be read by every Russian statesman into George Marshall's Harvard speech (the original offer of Marshall Aid):

"Any government which manoeuvres to block the recovery of other countries cannot expect help from us. Furthermore, governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom, politically or otherwise, will encounter the opposition of the United States."

What could the last sentence mean, in the light of American political and economic policy, but a declaration of war on Russia and on Communism?

When Russia, by some astute offer tries to influence public opinion in another country, it is regarded as wickedly Machiavellian, but when Mr. Bevin declares for the return of Trieste to Italy on the eve of the Italian elections, Dr. Pick seems to give the move his complete approval.

That Russian diplomacy has been dilatory, obstructive, and lacking in sincerity no-one but a Communist will deny. But has she not merely carried to extreme lengths some of the classical methods of international diplomacy? And has she always been in the wrong? Have her accusations of the installation of known Nazis in key positions in Western Germany, or her suspicions that former owners of the Ruhr industries were not being entirely removed, been entirely without foundation?

A warning to the biased

But I do not wish to be unfair to Dr. Pick. He does realise how easy it is to fall into partiality, e.g.

"Only one consideration must be added to this record of Russian obstruction before passing judgement on those who prevented the salvation of mankind—a salvation which ought to have followed the death of Hitler—let us search our own heart and make sure, that we, by public action, have supported and are supporting the right principles."

Here is advice we can all take to heart. This book will probably on the first reading confuse as much as it will enlighten the reader who comes to it with little knowledge of the subject. For those already somewhat familiar with the course of post-war diplomacy, however, Dr. Pick's comments and judgements will be found thought provoking, at times penetrating, and almost always worth considering—even if that consideration leads one to an almost complete disagreement with him.

When I put the book down I said to myself, "Well, all this proves that a multitude of words does not make peace. After five years of wrangling we are further from real peace than when we started." And I think that Dr. Pick would have agreed with me for in his final chapter he suggests that Marshall Aid has contributed more in a few months to re-establish confidence in Europe than five years hard and rather acrimonious bargaining.

EAST, WEST and the QUAKERS

The United States and the Soviet Union—Some Quaker Proposals for Peace. Industrial and Social Order Council of Society of Friends, 1s.

THIS is an admirable document and although written by Americans for Americans it has as much to say to Britons. It is good for us to be reminded that there is in the States a point of view represented by the authors of this thoughtful, balanced and eminently sane contribution to the solution of the problem of East-West relations.

The pamphlet begins by setting out the basic elements of the problem. It notes the widespread desire for peace and the threat which arises from the opposition of two antagonistic and apparently stable political systems. An analysis of the important differences follows and leads to the assertion that "Despite the differences in approach between the United States and the Soviet Union here is the possibility of enough accommodation to permit the differing systems to compete peacefully without either of the two ways of life surrendering to the other."

This assertion is supported by reference to

- (1) Historical precedents—e.g. the conflict between Christian and Moslem.
- (2) The suggestion that the primary Soviet drive is likely to be directed to under-developed agricultural areas of Asia.
- (3) The frequent Soviet statements about the possibility of peaceful co-operation.
- (4) The experience of the war—the Soviet Union resisted the possible advantage of a separate peace and entered the war against Japan within the mutually agreed time limit.
- (5) Soviet needs for American industrial products.

Peace News Ltd., has himself made a study of East-West relations, and on behalf of the National Peace Council compiled the recently published pamphlet "Notes on the Course of Negotiations for Control of Atomic Energy" (NPC, 6d.)

"Although," the pamphlet points out, "it is a part of Communist dogma that capitalistic countries are driven by their very nature into wars over foreign raw materials and markets, the opportunity to demonstrate the error of this dogma lies in American hands rather than Russian."

After discussing the mutual fear of the USA and the USSR the report goes on to challenge the whole assumption underlying national policy on both sides—the assumption that in the modern world security can be attained through an attempt to establish an overwhelming preponderance of military power.

This challenge is based in the first place on the Quaker judgment and is supported by careful argument. This leads to a well reasoned conclusion that there is no evidence that either the United States or the Soviet Union intends, at the present time or in the foreseeable future, to promote its foreign policy by means of military aggression.

This general discussion paves the way for specific recommendations as to "areas in which, with wise statesmanship, tension can be relaxed."

- These areas are
- (1) Economic policy in relation to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.
 - (2) Policy on Germany.
 - (3) Policy with respect to strengthening the United Nations and the elimination of national armaments.

The specific recommendations are by no means extravagant and are persuasively set out. It is good to know that policies of this kind are being pressed on their government by responsible Americans.

READERS' PAGE

Reginald Reynolds & E. W. P. Veale
on the Fuchs trial

FEW people, I suppose, can admire Dr. Fuchs. Spies are not admired, even by those who make use of them. But as one of those who sighed with relief when it was known that Russia had the Atom Bomb (on the grounds that, if such beastly things were to exist at all, it was safer for both sides to know the secret) I suppose I owe a grudging gratitude to anybody who helped to bring this about.

In other circles the reaction was very different. It began with the Lord Chief Justice. Lord Goddard is, of course, one of our Problem Children of the Bench. A day or two previously he had cheerfully explained, at an appeal against a murder conviction, that schizophrenia was no reason why a man should not be hanged for murder. And, on the same day that he sentenced Fuchs, the Lord Chief Justice, in two other cases, regretted his inability to have people flogged. In one of these cases he also deplored the binding over of first offenders. So it was perhaps not remarkable that a judge who uses his position to flaunt such ante-diluvian opinions should have found in Fuchs a pretext for another of his peculiar sermons.

The fact that one may not like the Stalinist version of Communism ought not to blur one's mind with regard to Lord Goddard's reference to it as "that creed which then was known to be inimical to all freedom-loving countries." We need not discuss the point, except to say that, if that was true of Communism, it was no less true of the system when the Russians were our allies. What is pernicious is the introduction of this political diatribe into a legal judgment. It may have been right or wrong for Churchill to have made an alliance with those whose creed was "inimical to all freedom-loving countries." But a judge should be concerned solely with questions of law.

The Lord Chief Justice's next digression was on the subject of political refugees. "Dare we now," he said, "give shelter to political refugees, who may be followers of this pernicious creed, who well may disguise themselves and bite the hand that feeds them?" I have italicised the word "may," twice used, because it brings out the fatuous nature of the statement. What Lord Goddard sought to convey was that a political refugee was more likely than you or myself to start hand-chewing. And that is plain nonsense.

On the very day of the Fuchs case Rebecca West rushed into print. Writing in the *Evening Standard* Rebecca said of Fuchs that "You could deduce all sorts of things by looking at him in the dock." She could, so she said, tell from looking at him that he would "listen with immense respect" both to classical and modern music, good or bad, and that he would admire modern art. You could even tell what weekly journal he read.

I hope, I most fervently hope, that if ever I am in the dock, Miss West will not be on the jury. She would tell from one look at me that I rolled my own cigarettes and that I had done the murder. Unless the rest of the jury insisted on hearing the evidence, I should be done for.

But two things in Rebecca West's article are of special importance, because they illustrate the danger of this hysteria. Firstly there is the revival of national hatred against the Germans: "You see, Fuchs was a German..." He was a typical German." His statement was also "typically German" and later on it was "German impudence."

It has become a habit with Rebecca West and others to write abusive articles about people like Fuchs. In the Nuremberg Trials Miss West did not even wait until sentence had been passed, but joined in the general press barrage beneath which the Nazi leaders had to face the last grim farce of their lives.

Again this trade of attacking people who have "got it coming to them" and have no chance of reply or reprisal is a new and rather sinister development in a country which once prided itself on certain standards of decency. "When a man is down, kick him good and hard"—that seems to be the new version of the old sporting tag. But when you not only kick the man who is down, but try, by his face, to vilify all his countrymen, implicating them in his misdeeds, things have gone rather far. It is just this sort of thing—generalisation

about Jews when any individual Jew has behaved badly—that has always been a favourite way of spreading anti-Semitism. And yet Miss West does not stop at suggesting that treachery itself "was very German."

But the more I read stuff like this the more I'm convinced that I am living in an asylum for criminal lunatics. The one ray of sanity in my newspapers of late has been

Scientists must tell

THE trial of Klaus Fuchs and the sentence of 14 years' imprisonment passed upon him is the tragedy of a man who tried to do the right thing in the wrong way. It was not his fault that the right way was not available to him.

What is the reason why so many distinguished scientists are professed Communists? Surely not because they feel any special veneration for the memory of Karl Marx or for what Lord Chief Justice Goddard has described as the "pernicious doctrine" of Communism; but simply because they realise that knowledge such as theirs must of necessity be international, and not made the jealously guarded preserve of any particular nation.

Fuchs was tried and sentenced under a law passed in 1911, when "national defence" secrets comprised such comparatively puny weapons as the Dreadnought and the Zeppelin. The only really effective protection against the weapons of 1950 is the systematic pooling of scientific knowledge through a properly accredited international organisation; and the one "pledge" which a scientist engaged in Nuclear Research ought to be required to give is a promise faithfully to impart all the knowledge in his possession and to withhold nothing.

Such a system would of course be liable to abuses; but at least it would be preferable to the present atmosphere of terror and mystery that now envelops Atomic Research. The severe sentence passed upon Fuchs has done the greatest possible disservice to the cause of peace, as it is deliberately calculated to enforce rigid secrecy just when and where complete frankness is most essential.

E. W. P. VEALE

73 The Vale,
Golders Green, N.W.11.

Arab children's plight

THROUGH your columns we are asking for the support of readers for efforts to alleviate the appalling circumstances of the 800,000 Arab refugees who are homeless and suffering from disease, privation and exposure as a result of the strife in Palestine. Many will die unless substantial monetary aid is quickly forthcoming.

A welfare officer working in the Middle East writes: "People will soon be naked. The rags covering them cannot be washed without disintegration, and newly born children often have only a bit of sacking to cover them. These people are living mainly in improvised tents."

Members of the Birmingham branch of the Fellowship of Reconciliation have already sent money and clothing to help these refugees, but much more is needed if the relief work already started is to be maintained and extended. Above all, we cannot let children suffer when it is in our power to help.

Parcels of clothing (particularly for babies and children) and medical supplies can be sent to Arab Relief, British Red Cross Society, 29 Belgrave Square, London, S.W.1. Money may be forwarded to the Anglo-Arab Relief Fund, 28 Hays Mews, Berkeley Square, London, W.1.

YOUTH COMMITTEE.

Birmingham Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Ten films for pacifists

THE little village of Trecynan, in Aberdare, must be one of the most internationally minded in Britain. In recent weeks it has seen the following films "The Tinder Box" (Danish Cartoon), "The Barber of Seville" (Italian film version of Puccini's opera), "The Grapes of Wrath" (American documentary), "Eamon de Valera" (Eire's ex-Premier speaking on language difficulties), and "Guilty" (English version of Zola story). Soon it will see the "Overlanders" (Australians), "Une Femme Disparait" (French) and "The Last Days of Dolwyn" (Welsh).

Incidentally, if PN readers were to commence a pacifist film society, what would be their first ten selections? I would suggest "All Quiet on the Western Front," "Pastor Hall," "Monsieur Vincent," "Penn of Pennsylvania," "Monsieur Verdoux," "The Story of Louis Pasteur," "The Razors Edge," "World of Plenty," "Our Town" and "The Good Earth."

GLYN BEVAN

19a Well Place,
Cwmbach,
Aberdare, Glam.

the news from France that the Mayor of the village of Vauluse has published a local by-law "prohibiting the transport of atom bombs or their use in the village." The village constable is to arrest anyone contravening his order. And quite right, too. I'm still inclined to think that the bombs are not so dangerous as the judges and the newspapers.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

What would you do if...?

I HAVE been intending to write to you for some time—to be precise, since your issue of Oct. 28, 1949. It was a fine issue on the whole, but I could not pass it on because of that article on page 6 entitled: "What would you do if...?" The author, Jon Wynne-Tyson, gives four reasons why one should not intervene with violence if someone was torturing a child, woman, etc.

Is chivalry dead? Surely it is one's obvious duty to protect the weak by using violence if necessary, without giving a thought to the consequences to one's self, as suggested by that writer Jon Wynne-Tyson.

One has a perfectly sound reason for denouncing War, as we all know what the next War may be like. Your brave speakers and pioneers are doing splendid work in spreading the gospel of no-more-war among all the nations. But would they stand aside and let a woman be battered to unconsciousness by some human lout who was stealing her life savings? I do not think so.

How, then, can you defend or advocate 100 per cent. non-violence? Jesus advocated non-violence in respect of himself. He taught turning the other cheek. He never taught that one should stand aside and use persuasion or a mild prayer if one saw some-one else being bullied or killed. Nor did any other of the philosophers and teachers of humanity. Except perhaps Gandhi? Gandhi may have been an idealist—I do not know. I am afraid, however, he was a bit of a poseur. A 100 per cent. non-violence is a pose, and simply will not work in a world full of louts and criminals who would not listen to gentle persuasion or reason.

MATTHIAS R. VON HOLST

Vicarage Cottage,
Stoulton, Near Worcester.

Jon Wynne-Tyson replies: *I believe Mr. von Holst to be perfectly right in suggesting that in a world of far from morally self-persuasive human beings, physical measures against a lunatic, mad-drunk, homicidal (or even a lout battering a woman for her life-savings) are at times the only apparent course to take. Surely I implied as much? What I was trying to make clear was that such measures are no justification of warfare, and that they may not be effective even in individual cases. They are expedients, not a solution of the root problem of aggression; the lesser, perhaps, of two evils. I share Mr. von Holst's dislike of mild prayers. The alternative of a half-brick should not, however, become a habit. I wonder if he read as far as the second column of my article?*

I am sorry that he does not know whether Gandhi was an idealist. May I suggest that he studies the not inconsiderable volume of literature on that subject. It will also tell him something about 100 per cent. non-violence, which he dismisses so blithely, though possibly he is confusing it with non-violent resistance.

Pacifism—moonshine or fact

DO enough pacifists—in their belief that the philosophy of pacifism is a way of life which if permitted full scope would establish peace and liberty and security—fully realise whether such belief is a realistic faith or an idealistic hope?

Judging from past frustrated attempts at applied community life settlements, it appears that it comes within the category of the former. Significant of a deficiency of technique or objective somewhere.

If it is true that that is moral which works best, it would seem events coincide with the thoughts of that quietly persistent and experienced advocate of applied community life settlements, to wit, Mr. John Middleton Murry who has stated that "if community is a dream, then pacifism is moonshine."

Is it not high time pacifists and conscientious objectors realised where the error is (irrespective of their community interests) that prohibits a dynamic development of community settlements, which at a time of possible economic disintegration, might well become among the sole existing bastions of order among disorder?

If pacifists get self-subsistence and workable little settlement cells, they might well become beacons of light, in an already dark and darkening period, for subjects and citizens of all nations to get a true course from. Then there would be a demonstrative fact that pacifism is not after all mere moonshine.

D. USHER

34 Curzon Road,
Muswell Hill, N.10.

YOU write about PN

SOME kindly soul must have read carefully a recent letter (on war and peace) I had published in our local Press, for a copy of Peace News was sent to me without any identity of the sender, except for the fact that it was posted in Leicester. Would you thank this person for me, please, as now I am a regular reader of Peace News, thanks to unknown.

I like your policy immensely and the fine selection of articles beneficial to a peace-loving mankind. Your voice should echo round the world, but it doesn't, does it? Remember, I only heard of it today.

ROLAND W. HADDON

4 Graham Street,
Leicester.

WHAT an unpleasant job it is selling Peace News this weather, and yet it gets in our blood and we become more and more convinced of its value.

The copies come by post and I and a friend both stop at different spots on our way home from work on Friday or Monday evening and sell for, say, one hour. We probably sell 4 papers each in that time and spare copies can be pushed through letter boxes. This means that at least 400 copies of Peace News reach the public each year. Many hundreds of other people are made aware of our existence and sometimes something exciting happens: a young fellow or girl takes an interest in our message; someone learns of the movement for the first time or finds how to register as a "conchie" or where to get help for a friend.

The outlay? A few coppers a week and an hour or two of precious time.

It is difficult to form groups but one or two can start selling Peace News and reach a wide circle. So may I say to our readers: keep on selling Peace News or start selling now. It will chill you to the marrow, tire you out and break your heart but I know of no better service to the pacifist cause. What I'd give to see London picketed with sellers on a Friday night—and the country too!

JOAN F. LAYTON

120 Falloden Way,
Finchley, London, N.W.11.
(Fifty readers like Joan Layton would send our circulation soaring. We have inaugurated the "Friday Night Club" forthwith and elected Joan Layton Hon. President. Members will work together but never meet together. Enrol now by sending us a card ordering your PN and telling us where you will be operating. Address it to "Friday Night Club," Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.—Ed.)

I RECEIVED the following appreciation this morning from an elderly Church of England clergyman.

"Many thanks for Peace News. It is for the most part unexplored territory to me, but no doubt the movement does a useful work, if only as in my case to open new vistas of good and useful endeavour. May it long continue to do so."

I hope this may encourage other readers to pass on their copies.

HARRY WILTON BROWN

19 Wordsworth Avenue,
Boscombe, Bournemouth.

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, March 8, 1940

Everybody wants peace, but many folk are afraid that, if negotiations were begun now, Hitlerism would secure a new lease of life and another war would occur in a few years' time.

I am sure that if this war continues for two years and finishes by the economic exhaustion and starvation of Germany, with a Peace Treaty dictated by the Allies, another war is CERTAIN within the life time of the next generation.

—Dr. Alfred Salter, MP.

To focus and express the growing desire of the large number of people who want the war stopped at once, the Peace Pledge Union will hold tomorrow a mass meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, to put "The Case for a Negotiated Peace."

More voices are now being raised in favour of war against Russia.

With complete disregard of the cost in human lives which would be involved, the writer of a letter in the Daily Telegraph argued that such a war would "swing the neutrals over to our side." For this and strategic reasons he urges immediate action. For pacifists the objection to war on Russia is the same as their objection to all war: it is wrong and it will solve none of the problems facing the world today.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS
Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C1

THE PEACE ASSOCIATION OF CHRISTIAN SCIENTISTS (British Section)

Statement of purpose

An international association for the promotion and extension of a Christianly Scientific peace, the members of which refrain from participation in war. This association functions as a private enterprise and not as an agency of the Christian Science Church.

All those interested may obtain further information and literature regarding the Association from:—

Mrs. M. M. Hyde,
37 Holden Park Road,
SOUTHBOROUGH,
nr. Tunbridge Wells, Kent.

"Is man-to-man agreement possible?"

BARUCH PLAN IS DEAD—Gerald Bailey

PICTURE POST, of March 4, published a stimulating summary of controversial views on atomic control.

Under the heading "Is a man-to-man agreement possible?" the arguments for and against are set out by Frank Owen, Editor of the Daily Mail and Sydney Smith, former Editor of Reynolds News, respectively. The American and Russian proposals are given side by side, and Gerald Bailey, Executive Chairman of the International Committee of Organisations for Peace, gives his proposals for welding the two together.

Those who oppose the "parley at the summit," says Frank Owen, do so on the grounds that it is part of the Marxist creed that capitalist states must go to war in a struggle over markets, so that the communist order may rebuild the world. He says, even Communists find it convenient sometimes to deal with facts, not theories. Conscripted labour, death penalties for factory offences, etc., were not in the Communist book, nor was Stalin's deal with Hitler in 1939. Stalin is a ruthlessly practical man who will talk business when he has to.

"If we can keep peace for ten years," he says, "perhaps we can keep it for ever." Surely it is worth trying.

Have failed in past—Sydney Elliott

Sydney Elliott, opposing the proposal, points out that "top level" discussions at Potsdam and Munich had failed. A democratic statesman who seeks man-to-man agreement with a dictator, acts as a dictator. He must score 100 per cent success or 100 per cent failure, and failure would only mean intensified arms race.

Russia, unlike Britain, does not fear the bomb. In an imaginary conversation

German teacher's sacrifice

Four year's struggle with the re-education of education in heavily bombed areas left no reserve of health on which Edmund Weller of the German Fellowship for Reconciliation could draw when he underwent a serious operation last year. He died on Jan. 1 at the age of 60.

If you intend to register as a CO

write for help and advice to the Central Board for CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS 6 Endsleigh Street - London, W.C.1

between Stalin and Churchill, Stalin is supposed to say: "No democratic leader could use either bomb aggressively, no democratic leader could make undeclared war and survive the fury of his own people... It took Dictator Hitler to make war on Poland... Dictator Tojo to make war on America. Democracies just do not start wars. So I do not fear the H-bomb. It is you who fear it—when Russia discovers it."

There is only one answer to Stalin—through the United Nations. To take the risk that one man might slam the ever-open door would be a criminal blunder.

Gerald Bailey sums up

Summing up the American and Russian proposals, Gerald Bailey asks—What are the chances of effecting a compromise between them?

The Baruch plan was based on the assumption of exclusive American possession of the bomb for perhaps eight years. It is true Russia was offered a seat on the controlling authority, but it was never reasonable to suppose Russia would accept a plan which, rightly or wrongly, they believe would place their economic development at the mercy of a non-Communist majority.

In any case the premise on which the plan was based is now demolished by events. The monopoly has gone and the Baruch Plan is dead. A new plan is required—as The Times puts it—"a little stronger than the Russian, a little less perfect than the Western."

The Russians have already made important advances towards compromise. They have conceded that international control should include atomic power for both military and peaceful uses, and should have access to all sources. The elements for agreement, therefore, might be found in such proposals as:

1. A convention outlawing the atomic (and hydrogen) bomb and providing for the destruction of all existing bombs within a specified time.
2. The cessation of large scale production of fissionable materials.
3. The maintenance of nationally owned plants for the production of fissionable material in small quantities of no military value but sufficient for the development of peaceful uses.
4. The establishment of strict inspection and control designed to maintain agreed quotas of production for peaceful uses.

Concluding, Gerald Bailey makes the comment that the fundamental problem is the abolition not of this or that weapon but of war itself, and the establishment of world unity.

JAPAN JOURNEY—14

Four Houses — 3,880 Applicants

THIRTY-EIGHT hundred Hiroshima families applied for our four small houses!

We left the difficult problem of selecting the fortunate families up to the city officials. Their system, as Mr. Okui, Chief of the Building Section, outlined it to me, was to process all the written applications and then have case workers of the Welfare Section make a further, on the ground, estimate of the most needy families. From the few hundred families who survived this boiling down process four names were to be drawn by lot.

Since two of the four families chosen are city employees it might be questioned whether this system was followed actually, but having personally verified the fact that the four families chosen were each in desperate need of more adequate housing I was not inclined to raise the question. Mr. Okui, the Chief of the Building Section himself lives in a much poorer house than ours.

Our houses are of ten "tsubo," or 20 matts each, which is certainly a minimum living space for even a small family. Two of the families selected however are large, of seven members each. This gives an average of less than three matts per person or about 50 square feet.

Our small, four room house in Seattle gives my family more than 350 square feet each and even then we sometimes get in each others hair. In addition we have more than an acre of outdoors to treat as our own, while these Hiroshima houses have only enough room to walk around them and a tiny kitchen garden about 20 by 25 feet in size.

The four families

They are all middle-class families as even skilled workmen like carpenters and electricians cannot afford the 700 yen per month rent which the city will charge. The heads of each of the four families are college graduates.

In our Number One house, which looks out upon our Japanese garden, Sadao Matatsuki, age 44, his wife Sadako, 36, and their five children ranging in ages from little Aiko, the baby daughter, to big brother Kazuo who is 13, will live.

Matatsuki san is a tall dignified man already greying a little bit. He is a graduate of Hiroshima University and has taught school in a number of high schools and colleges in Japan. He is now head of the public school system of Hiroshima City.

Mamoru Shintaki and wife Tamae, with their six year old son and three year old daughter, will occupy house Number Two. He is 35 and Tamae is 27. Mamoru was

AS a gesture of international friendship, a party of Americans led by Professor Floyd Schmoe of the American FoR, is visiting Japan on a project to help build houses for some of the innocent victims of the war. The cost is contributed by interested Americans and the scheme is under the care of the Japan Yearly Meeting of Friends.

Chief of the Prefectural Police Force before he resigned to enter the National Police College near Hiroshima. Number Two house also looks out upon the garden.

In house Number Three Takeo Yamamoto and his family of six will live. Yamamoto san studied law in college but he is now Personnel Director for the Chugoku Press which publishes both a morning and an evening daily in Hiroshima. He is also 44 years old and his wife Yasuko is 37. They have two sons and two daughters ranging in age from two to fifteen.

The fourth family, in House Number Four, is that of Yukihiko Murakami, age 32, and his wife Eyko who is 27. They have only one child, a baby daughter named Kazuko, but two of Yuki's brothers, his 64-year-old father and his 61-year-old mother live with him, making another family of seven in three small rooms. After college Yuki was conscripted into the army and he did not get back to Japan until a year after the war was over. He is now an employee in the City Hall.

All ages are "Japanese system" which calls a child one year old at birth and count birthdays from the first of each year, so that a child born late in December may become two years old within its first week.

(To be concluded)

UP AND DOING

On April 28th the new eight-page Peace News will commence publication.

An extra £1,000 a year is involved in this enlargement, and upon our readers lies the responsibility for making Peace News a journal worthy of its position as the only pacifist weekly in the world.

Next week an editorial article will deal with the needs of the paper and appeal for your help in launching a campaign for 2,500 new readers in six months.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week, 9,700 copies.

Notes for your Diary

This is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent to us. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, March 10

BELFAST: 5.45 p.m. Friends Institute; Speaker: Stuart Morris; Public Meeting; PPU.

SOUTHPORT: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Portland Street; Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; FoR.

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Carlton Hill Friends Meeting House Woodhouse Lane; Grand Social and Dance; Refreshment tickets from F. Chadwick, 7 Lincoln Leeds 9; Leeds Peace Council.

Saturday, March 11

BANGOR, Co. DOWN: 8 p.m. Speaker: Stuart Morris; Public Meeting; PPU.

WARRINGTON: 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Buttermarket Street; Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; FoR.

GLASGOW: 3 p.m. Community House, 11 Clyde Street, C.1; Rev. David C. Macdonald, MA, on "Christian Patience"; FoR.

Sunday, March 12

BELFAST: 10.30 a.m. Men's Bible School; Speaker: Stuart Morris.

BELFAST: 3.30 p.m. Speaker: Stuart Morris; Joint PPU and FoR Meeting.

BELFAST: 7 p.m. Methodist Church; Speaker: Stuart Morris.

NORTHAMPTON: 8 p.m. 80 Broadway; Speaker: Clifford H. Macquie; FoR.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. TU Club, Central House, Gt. Newport St.; Debate: "The World as it is"; Proposer: Tony Gibson (London Friends' Group); Opposer: Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Monday, March 13

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Speaker: Stuart Morris; Public Meeting; PPU.

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Open-air meeting; Gwyneth Anderson and Bryan Bailey; PPU.

RENOUANCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS 3 Blackstock Road, Endsleigh St., W.C.1

Tuesday, March 14

LISNADILL, Co. ARMAGH: 8 p.m. Speaker: Stuart Morris; Public Meeting; PPU.

Wednesday, March 15

RICHILL, Co. ARMAGH: 8 p.m. Speaker: Stuart Morris; Public Meeting; PPU.

BEDFORD: 7.15 p.m. Paul's Cafe; Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; FoR.

Thursday, March 16

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

WALTHAMSTOW: 8 p.m. Shern Hall Methodist Ch., Shern Hall St.; Speaker: Rev. Percy Ineson; FoR.

NEWCASTLE: 7.30 p.m. Central Methodist Ch., Northumberland Rd.; Donald Soper, "Challenge of Christian Pacifism"; FoR.

NEWCASTLE: 5.45 p.m. Tea Conference at YMCA, Blackett St.; Donald Soper, "The Formation of Church Peace Groups"; Chairman: Rev. J. G. Lane; FoR.

Saturday, March 18

NOTTINGHAM: 3 p.m. Adult School rooms, Friars Lane; Annual Conference; Rev. R. W. Sorensen, MP, on "Peace in Parliament"; Chairman: Donald W. Pipe; Secretary: D. H. Bending, 76 Clifford Avenue, Beeston, Notts.; FoR.

LEEDS: 3 p.m. West Riding Area Conf., Friends Meeting House; Speaker: Hugh Faulkner; FoR.

Sunday, March 19

NOTTINGHAM: 7 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Friars Ln.; Agatha Harrison; "India, her Future"; Society of Friends.

Tuesday, March 21

BIDEFORD: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; Speaker: Minnie Pallister; Public Meeting; PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Lattimer Road; Mr. F. R. Reader, JP, on "Citizen of Two Worlds"; FoR.

Thursday, March 23

NORWICH: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Goat Ln.; Wilfred Wellock; "The World Pacifist Meeting in India"; Society of Friends.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open-air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Saturday & Sunday, April 1-2

BURLEY IN WHARFSHIRE: Weekend School at The Adult School Guest House, Hag Farm Lane; Saturday, 8.30 p.m. to Sunday, 8 p.m. Inclusive Charge 16s., with a reduction for children; Applications with 5s. deposit, to Kenneth Chadwick, 32 Spencer Place, Leeds 7; PPU.

Saturday and Sunday, May 6 & 7

CRICH, Nr. MATLOCK: Commencing 5 p.m.; weekend school; Speaker: Minnie Pallister on "World Problems"; Cost: adults 17s. 6d., children under 10s. 6d. Special bus from Sheffield 9s. return; Names with 5s. deposit should be sent by March 18 to Eleanor Pease, 28 East Bank Place, Sheffield 2; PPU.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday before publication.
TERMS: Cash with order. 8d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.
When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.
We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube), Sunday evening, at 7. The Gospel of Peace Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE. Vegetarian and diet reform. Others welcomed. Sea front, small village. Innisfree, St. Mary's Bay, Ashford, Kent.

"AVONWEIR COTTAGE" 1 Hanham Mills, Hanham, Nr. Bristol. A few vegetarian vacancies; cottage or caravan accommodation; delightful wooded riverside, adjacent pleasure boats; easy access Bristol and Bath.

RUDE, CORNWALL. Delightful walks. Lovely coastal views. Enjoy restful and friendly atmosphere of Atlantic Guest House. Ideally situated on Sea Front. Vegetarians and others welcomed. Joan and Herbert Lomax.

COLUMBINE GUEST Cottage, Uckfield, Tel. 176. For that long restful weekend. Single 27s. 6d.; double 52s. 6d. Vegetarian.

COUNTRY-LOVERS. ORNITHOLOGISTS. Easter near sea and bird sanctuaries. Quiet village. Excellent beach for holiday-makers. Good food, vegetarian optional. Stannard, Sea Palling, Norfolk.

DORSET. COMFORTABLE holiday accommodation; Easy reach sea. Terms moderate. Both, St. Margarets, Greenfield Road, Poole.

ILFRACOMBE: Chris Collie, Pinehurst, Chambercombe Park. Guests welcomed from Easter. Lovely country. Near Sea.

GLASTONBURY. MOUNT AVON, is beautifully situated. Ideal centre for excursions in one of the loveliest and most interesting parts of the West country. Appetising and health giving vegetarian meals. Friendly welcome, comfortable beds. Reasonable charges. S.A.E. for brochure. Arthur Mann.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Guest House. Rest and comfort amid beautiful scenery. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Near Matlock. Tel: Ambergate 44.

VEGETARIANS. NOTE address for holidays: Mrs. Adcock, Last House, Cliff Road, Sidmouth. Garage. Tele 183.

PERMANENT ACCOMMODATION, with part or full attendance, required by middle aged couple. Near sea preferred. Mason, Arno, Park Avenue, Ventnor.

EDUCATIONAL

"SPEAKING & WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

AMERSHAM, BUCKS: Freehold Market Garden in two plots of 2 1/2 acres each. Houses available nearby. Soft and hard fruits. Good range of Dutch Lights. Fully equipped. No chemical fertilisers used. Good local connections. Price £2,500 as a going concern including £300 p.a. net retail round. Taking a larger holding. Full details or appointment to view. Goodwin, Weston, Shortway, Amersham.

ECONOMY LABELS for re-using envelopes. Large, good quality, cheap; publishing Peace News. Post free for 1s., 50; 1s. 9d., 100; 15s., 1,000. Also plain economy labels 1s., 100; 8s. 6d., 1,000 post free. Peace News, Ltd., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

COVENTRY PPU. Rummage sale, March 18. Goods to Lee, 3 South Avenue.

PLEASE HELP Bermondsey boys to raise camp funds by sending jumble for sale. Anything accepted, all gifts acknowledged. Send 36 Leroy Street S.E.1.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

LIFE ENDOWMENT, house purchase, motor insurance. Well-known Company's agent welcomes enquiries. H. J. Shewin, 11a, St. Andrews Road, London, E.13.

MARRIAGE BUREAU offers unrivalled personal service. Nation-wide clientele. Mary Blair (Room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1.

MIDDLE-AGED LADY living Croydon desirous meeting lady friends, interested music, animals, home-life. Box 140.

SITUATIONS VACANT

Situations are available only to applicants excepted from the Control of Engagements Order, 1947, No. 2021.

LADY COOK for up to 32, able to do some vegetarian dishes. Live in; Own comfortable bedroom and radio. Able to take charge in Manager's absence. If married, husband for waiting and general duties. Congenial, prospects permanency. Interview London. Write fully, age, experience. Normanhurst, Eversfield Parade, St. Leonards-on-Sea.

DOMESTIC HELP required for international hostel in East London. International Voluntary Service for Peace, 3, Cromwell Road, S.W.7.

VOLUNTARY HELPERS urgently needed at Peace News office. 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. Monday to Friday, up to 9.30 p.m. Wednesday evening. No special experience necessary. 1 minute Finsbury Park Station, 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, stationers), N.4.—or phone STAmford Hill 2262-4.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

FIRST-CLASS duplicating, etc. Mabel Eyles, 29 Rokeby Avenue, London, N.8. MOU 1701.

MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International web comes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

PLEASE HAND THIS

TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

Please deliver PEACE NEWS

to me weekly

To M.....

(Newsagent's name)

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

"LIVELY FUNERAL TEA" IN NORTHAMPTON

THE Peace Pledge Union in Northampton is not dead. Several months ago a rumour to the effect that it was no more, circulated through the town and even to international fields. Letters arrived from the War Resisters' International in consternation.

On Saturday in the Friends Meeting House, Northampton, what was described by John Fletcher, Hon. Treasurer of the WRI, as "the liveliest funeral tea" he had ever attended drew 40 pacifists together in a reunion.

William Harrison, chairman at the meeting which followed a tea and social, described the small company as a "remnant." "Nevertheless the things that we few can see are the things the whole world wants," he said.

"Many of us ask ourselves 'What is the Use,'" said John Fletcher introducing his talk. "We seem so small against the masses—but unless there are conscientious 'obeyers' to the Lord in this country we should become as Nazi Germany—all obedient to the State."

Not alone in fight for peace

Never before had there been the need of faithful groups like those at Northampton when so many felt the future was hopeless and did not know which way to turn.

Another messenger like Dick Sheppard, however, would come and he would need such groups behind him.

The speaker summed up the feelings of many of those present when he said that while war was raging and men standing before tribunals and pledging their views on peace there seemed to be something worth fighting for but now many lost hope. "We may well say now 'What is the good,'" he said.

"You are not alone in your fight it is going on all over the world," said John Fletcher.

People said that pacifists were a negative body. "How can we be otherwise when we are already living in a world of life and the material world is heading for death."

Gaining ground over militarism

Speaking of two cases in Italy of men being imprisoned for refusal to wear military uniform, the speaker said that one had been given the maximum term of imprisonment which was only one year. "Twenty or thirty years ago that would have been unthinkable," he said.

The PPU had to fight the suggestions circulating that all COs were working for Moscow.

Concluding his talk John Fletcher told his audience, "You are enough to save Northampton. As Aldous Huxley once said, 'You are the antidote to the poison.'"

ALL FAITHS MEET FOR PEACE

"EVERY Nation Kneeling" is the theme of a special service to be held on Friday, March 17 at 7 p.m. at Caxton Hall, Westminster. Organised by the World Congress of Faiths, representatives of the world faiths will participate. A feature will be the singing of Buddhist canticles and Christian hymns. One lesson will be read by the Swami Ghanananda of the Ramakrishna Mission. An address will be given by Rev. Will Hayes whose valuable studies in comparative religion and work for world peace are widely known among PN readers.

From MERTHYR TYDFIL comes
"FORUM MAGAZINE"
An international medium of Free Expression.

Current number contains the following:
THE CASE FOR A WORLD LANGUAGE
English and Esperanto examined by international journalist.

HOW SOCIALIST IS BRITAIN?
—An Indian Viewpoint (reprinted from the Calcutta weekly review "Tide").

THIS INSURANCE BUSINESS?
by CLAUDE STANFIELD
President, Amalgamated Union of Life Assurance Workers.

3d. per copy (post free 4d. a copy, 2s. doz.)
"FORUM MAGAZINE"
80 Pontmorlais, Merthyr Tydfil

Learn Esperanto by your own fireside!

WORLD PEACE through WORLD UNDERSTANDING
our simple, attractive
ELEMENTARY CORRESPONDENCE COURSE
can open the way to international friendship

Write TODAY for prospectus:

ESPERANTO-LETTER CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

(Principal: John Cresswell)

Dept. PN. 58 Heywood Street

Manchester, 16

AUTHOR OF "CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY" TELLS MEETING:

The Black Man is still the White Man's slave

THE success of his book, "Cry the Beloved Country," had been phenomenal, Alan Paton told a meeting in Friends House, London, last week. Through literature the hearts and imagination of the public had been stirred as they had never been stirred by the political approach.

It was for him a humiliating and terrifying experience. The sudden change from obscurity to notoriety had placed upon him a great responsibility: was he equal to the task?

Briefly he sketched the history of South Africa, from the time when the Dutch East India Company first discovered South Africa, and the Dutch, driving the natives to seek shelter in the Table mountains themselves settled in the Coastal districts, lived there in almost complete isolation from both Holland and Europe, tended their flocks, read their Bibles, and adopting the name of "Africans" regarded themselves as God's elected people.

Later came the British—not to settle, with roots in Africa—as did the Dutch, but as Governors, Missionaries, or Fortune-seekers. "The Black Man was the English Man's business, not his enemy." Soon all coastal regions were English-speaking—the "Africans" and the natives seeking refuge further and further in to the interior of the Sub-Continent. But the discovery of gold in the interior caused the English fortune hunter to intrude inland. Racial tension reached its height, and in 1899 burst forth in the Anglo-Boer war. About this war the conscience of the British people had never been easy.

In spite of self government in 1906 and the Union of South Africa in 1910 the problem is still acute. The White Man's mind is divided: on the one hand there is his fear

PEACE ARMY PROJECT

Latest moves

VERA BRITAIN, Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, gave a talk and explanation of the work of the Peace Army Units, now in the process of formation in various parts of the world, to the Non-violence Group of the PPU last Saturday.

The establishing of a British Peace Army unit is to be discussed by the leaders of all the British pacifist organisations at a meeting to be held shortly regarding the formation of a Federal Pacifist Council for united action in implementing the World Pacifist Meeting decisions.

In the meantime a member of the Non-violence Group has been asked to keep in touch with correspondents in America, India and other countries where plans for the formation of Peace Armies are being made.

The next meeting of the Group is on April 1 at 2 p.m. at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Owing to limited accommodation only members of the PPU can be invited to attend on this occasion.

Enquiries will be gladly answered by the Group Secretary, Ethel Lewis, The Manse, Brill, Aylesbury, Bucks.

DEATH OF CARL HEATH

Carl Heath, a former Secretary of the National Peace Council died at the age of 80 at Guildford (Surrey) last Monday.

An appreciation of his work for the peace movement by a fellow Quaker will appear in next week's Peace News.

NOW AVAILABLE

POWER OR PEACE

By Wilfred Wellock

A searching examination of Capitalism, written after Mr. Wellock's recent extensive visit to America, and a positive policy to avert the collapse of the West.

Foreword by
FRANK DAWTRY

24 pages 6d. postage 1d.

5/- a dozen, post free

from

PEACE NEWS PUBLICATIONS DEPT.
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

for survival, on the other his Christian beliefs in love and justice which alone can provide the solution to the problem. But the former is still predominant: the Black Man is still the White Man's slave.

Alan Paton then read many of his own poems, written some in anger, some in compassion, depicting the life of the natives: the aged Black Woman coatless in the rain and splashed by the White Man's car; the Black Boys dancing on the horizon, and awaiting the White Man's coin; the burial of the Black Boy from the Deep Blue Reformatory: perhaps death the best thing that could happen to him.

O.B.

Clifford Macquire at Wallesey and Norwich

WORLD'S SPLIT MIND ON PEACE ISSUE

A CALL to Christians to reject war was made by the Rev. Clifford H. Macquire, General Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, when he addressed the Wallesey Peace Group on Feb. 28.

He commented upon the Report of the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam in 1949. Of the witness of the Church that Report had asked "What does the world see, or think it sees, when it looks at the Church?" And answered "It sees a Church which, because it has failed to speak effectively on the subject of war, has appeared impotent to deal with the realities of the human situation."

The effective thing to say is that war is contrary to the will of God, but that has often been said. The thing to do is to reject war as an unacceptable sanction.

Reliance upon war as an ultimate sanction devalues the Christian faith. It implies its inadequacy and this is no time for the Christian to declare his faith to be impotent in the face of Communism, reliant upon the very tools which Communism uses. It would be wrong and stupid to use violence in order to persuade or convince people that violence ought not to be used.

Even the militarist recognises that something more effective than force of arms is needed to challenge an ideology—Lord Montgomery has said "We might win a third world war against Russia, but would not thereby defeat Communism."

"You can have war or civilisation, not both" said the Bishops at Lambeth last year. War is no longer even an expedient, for the Christian it is a denial of his faith in the operative Spirit of God. The command is to obey Jesus Christ and having obeyed, to trust. Perhaps the most insidious modern heresy is that which demands to be able to anticipate God's use of our witness before we offer it.

World in Jekyll and Hyde state

On the following Saturday Clifford Macquire addressed a meeting in Norwich arranged by the Area Committee of the Fellowship. The meeting, attended by representatives from groups in Norfolk and North Suffolk, was presided over by Mr. J. J. Gabbott (secretary of the Lowestoft Group).

Mr. Macquire spoke of what he called the Jekyll and Hyde state of the present day world which he declared was suffering from a form of controlled schizophrenia. In New York work was going on to complete a great structure to house for all time the United Nations organisation and alongside there was being perfected a bomb which, he was told, if exploded might possibly disintegrate the solar system; on the one hand an effort was being made throughout the world to improve health yet chemicals were being perfected, small quantities of which were sufficient to destroy the whole human race.

He believed that God was looking to the pacifists to continue His "weaving of history" so that even Hiroshima and hydrogen bombs would not defeat His purpose. They had to put their witness in the centre of the Churches' life, to proclaim it in and out of season and to challenge their friends to have done with this split mind.

Peace delegates to Lobby MPs

THE British Peace Committee and the London District Committee of the Communist Party are calling on all their members and supporters to co-operate in demonstrations in support of a delegation from the Communist-sponsored World Peace Committee which will lobby MPs at the House of Commons on March 14.

Visits to the elected assemblies of Italy, Belgium, France, Holland, Mexico and the Soviet Union have also been arranged.

Visas have been refused for a delegation (Dean of Canterbury, Pablo Picasso, Ivor Montagu and Senators and Deputies of France, Italy, Belgium and Russia) which intended to visit the USA.

John Platts-Mills, former MP for Finsbury, is a member of the delegation presenting an appeal in defence of peace to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Sybil Morrison's CAMPAIGN COLUMN

Dr. Fuchs had for years been passing details of British and American atomic developments to Soviet agents... He was one of six men in Britain... who knew one of the most vital secrets of the atomic bomb—how to explode it.

The Lord Chief Justice said: 'You have betrayed the hospitality and protection given you with the grossest treachery.'

—Daily Telegraph, March 2, 1950

And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.

—St. Matthew VII. 5-7.

THE spy system is one that has been glamourised in fiction and in the films for very many years and when a spy is "caught out" while in pursuit of his aim, every newspaper in the world makes a "story" of his life and his career. The public imagination is fascinated by the mystery and the drama of espionage, and by the undoubted courage of the man or woman who undertakes the work.

A spy (called an Intelligence Officer or Secret Service Man by the country for which he works) must be a good actor; he must be able to live a double life, deceiving perhaps for years, those who work with him and those with whom he spends his leisure time. He must also be very brave indeed; he knows that if he fails to keep his identity secret, and his plans and plots are discovered, his Government cannot and will not support him with evidence for his defence, nor give him assistance of any kind; he knows he may be tortured; he knows he may, probably will, incur the death penalty.

He faces these dire risks, this dreadful aloneness, either for exceptionally high pay, or because of extreme devotion to a country or a cause. All great powers are willing to pay highly for the unusual qualities required by their Secret Service men and women, for where there are secret weapons or projects, which may be used against their own country every effort must be made to circumvent their use.

Only "enemy" nations use spies

Though this is, in fact, common knowledge, and part of the system of any country's "defence," the words "treason" and "spy" continue to be held in the greatest abhorrence; the majority of decent-minded people are therefore obliged to blind themselves to the unpleasant truth that the system is world-wide, and not peculiar only to "enemy" nations.

It is a revelation of this kind of blindness that Edith Cavell's strikingly revolutionary words: "Patriotism is not enough; I must have no hatred or bitterness for anyone," should be so violently contradicted on the statue erected to her memory by the inclusion of words which are the very embodiment of the kind of patriotism which has been too much for the world—"For King and Country."

If the discovery of atomic energy had been shared with all nations for the good of the whole world, Dr. Fuchs would not today be serving a term of 14 years imprisonment. There is only one answer to the spy system, only one way to abolish treason, and that is to remove the method. So long as there is in existence the method of war, there will be a spy system; let us at least recognise it for what it is, and continue unceasingly the struggle against war.

Arguments for a new way—the pacifist way—will be heard on Monday, March 27, in London, at the Central Hall, Westminster. One method of helping is to make this meeting widely known by leaflet distribution and by bringing your friends to hear the case for pacifism.

The first of the three Saturday poster parades advertising the meeting will leave 6 Endsleigh St., at 10.15 a.m. to morrow. More volunteers please!

PEACE DEMONSTRATION

CENTRAL HALL, Westminster, S.W.1
MONDAY, 27th MARCH,
8 p.m.

Chairman:

VERA BRITAIN

supported by

RHYS DAVIES, MP
EMRYS HUGHES, MP
LEAH MANNING
STUART MORRIS
SYBIL MORRISON
MICHAEL TIPPETT

Organ 7.30
Admission Free. Some reserved 2s. 6d.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION
6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

WAR — WE SAY NO

Published from 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4, by
Peace News Ltd. Printed by W. F. Clifford Printing
Co. Ltd. (T.U.), London, N.16.